Surára
Pakidái

884 /67 cont./
86 poisonous snake of South America, which is over three meters
[302] long. The painting is supposed to help to banish the dangers that
825 emanate from this and other poisonous snakes. As daily nourish-
[262] ment the two candidates may take only a ripe banana and half a
liter of water. After two months they are very thin and appear to
[276] be nothing but skin and bones. In order to suppress their feeling
of hunger and thirst, they constantly have the roll of tobacco
mixed with water and ashes between their lower or upper lip and
[782] teeth (see p.190). Moreover, they must blow large pinches of
[276] the snuff-powder into each other's noses several times a day in
order to make contact with the gigantic animal and plant spirits --
hekurá. Thus, they pass their training period in a regular trance-
state.

884 It is worth noting that the initiation rites of the male members
756 of the tribe take place comparatively late, and that in this way
776 all the men are gradually trained as medicine-man helpers.
Through this, the Surára chief Hewemão explained to me, they
are able to protect themselves and their families against sickness
and accidents in an emergency. If, for example, a man is
threatened along the way by a poisonous snake or a jaguar, he is
now in a position to banish the danger by calling upon the tutelary
spirits. He must never fail to thank the hekurá after a successful
hunting expedition or a good harvest, however, for otherwise he
755 would incur their anger. Even when his wife, one of his children,
[753] or a relative falls ill, he himself must first try, by means of song
and dance in which he addresses the hekurá, to hurl the sickness
back to the hostile tribe from which it was sent. Only if his efforts
remain unsuccessful may he appeal for the aid of the chief, who
is always willing and, with the help of 8-9 assistants, carries out a
great rekurá (cure). Thus, during the day /68/ or at night among
the Surára and Pakidái one frequently sees one man, or often even
several men, praying or attempting to cure a member of the
[276] family. Before that, however, they must take snuff-powder because
contact with the hekurá can be made only in a state of intoxica-
[533] tion. The songs are somewhat monotonous and are combined with
animal sounds, animal movements, such as the beating of wings,
hopping, etc.

Surára
Pakidái

/77 cont./

223 (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.) -- maraxí --, jacu (Penelope sp.) -- kuremá --, japim (Cacicus cela L.) -- anhakoramá --, inambu (Crypturellus sp.) -- rororôme --, inambu-relógio (Crypturellus strigulosus Temm.) -- honamá --, toucan (Rhamphastus sp.) -- mahebé --, arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) arakaké -- arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.) -- maracanã --, papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxeramakó --, papagaio curica (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxerá --, garça branca (Casmerodius albus egretta Gm) -- korihená.

[825] [353] The gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- nonexí -- is killed for magical reasons, because it is believed that there is concealed in it a hostile medicine man who brings sickness and [237] other disasters. Its down feathers are glued into the hair by the men as trophies (see p. 95); the meat is discarded. The gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm.) -- nonexipéke -- is also killed only for its feathers, which serve the men as upper-arm ornaments.

[825] They never shoot at the urubus (Cathartes foetens, Cathartes aura, etc.) -- uatubá --, for they are glad that they remove the refuse.

224 In conclusion it should be mentioned that traps are unknown to the Surára and Pakidái (353).

353. There is a corresponding statement by Zerries about the Waiká (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

[622] If the hunter has killed a small animal, he may keep this booty for himself and his family, but he often gives the chief a roasted or boiled piece of it. A big-game animal, on the other hand, is divided up under the chief's supervision, and each family gets a piece of meat. This communal feeling is very strongly marked, and no member of the tribe would ever violate it.

2: Becher--211 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/96 cont./

2. Curing the Sick

754
825
[753]

a) General

All sickness is attributed to hostile witch-doctors, especially those of the Waikâ (493). As carriers they use the gavião-real

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493. The idea that sickness is caused by witch doctors is so widespread in South America that from the large number of examples I should like to quote only two authors for comparison: Roth, 1915, p. 346; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 192.

gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) and the bat. Both animals are therefore designated generally as -- nonexí --, that is, evil spirit or spirit of sickness (494) (495). If such an animal is sighted,

494. Nonexí, however, is also the specific name of the gavião-real.

495. Zerries documents the same name, "noneshi" or "nonish," for the Waikâ. With it, however, they designate the shadow-soul or the alter ago (Zerries, 1958a, p. 108).

it is immediately killed, in order to prevent a misfortune. Moreover, it is assumed that with its death a hostile medicine man, who, of course, temporarily inhabits it, has breathed his last. The down feathers of the gavião-real are therefore glued into the hair for a few days as a trophy (see p. 95).

[239]

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If a member of the tribe has fallen ill, he can be cured only by having the chief, who among the Surára and Pakidái is at the same time the medicine man, and his helpers try to hurl the sickness back to the enemies. This can be done, however, only in the snuff-powder intoxication and by invoking

/219 cont./

588 Marriages which oppose the bilateral extension of the law of incest are criticized and are prohibited, and anyone who contravenes this law is automatically placed outside society.

589 793 Unmarried men are few, and, they say, only the priest practices celibacy.

165 The number of persons of advanced age is very small among the Sanemá. Among the Nabudub we saw only one old man.

753 In the majority of cases, sickness has a magical cause and the theurgists attempt to cure those who are within their field of action. We did not penetrate into this intimate sphere of Sanemá culture and the little that we heard is set forth in the section which deals with religious and magical aspects of these Indians.

764 159 We were not present at any funeral among the Sanemá, but our young informant of the upper Erebato told us in great detail about the death of his father.

159 753 825 763 He had gone out to the forest. There he had found an eagle. As eagles are men, they may only be killed if they are enemies of one's pueblo. The father asked the eagle whether he was a Waica or a Sanemá, and, when it answered that it was a Waica, the Sanemá man killed it with his arrow. Naturally he observed all the taboos that are obligatory for a hunter who kills an eagle. A few days later he became sick. He had a very high fever and remembered that when he picked up the eagle he got the impression that it was feverish, and, as birds of prey are often sent by a theurgist of neighboring enemies in order to kill the people, that explained everything. There was no reason to look for any other cause, the diagnosis was clear, the eagle had transmitted its sickness to the hunter. He became worse as the days went by and /220/ finally died; but he had first explained to the members of his family the cause of his sickness and the reason for his certain death.

159 764 Immediately after the death, the whole family burst into tears and began to shout; meanwhile several men went in search of the material necessary for raising the corpse. For this there is needed a quantity of stakes and leaves with which a sort of cylindrical coffin is made, and, after the dead person is placed

/228 cont./

756 The Sanemá sablf has great power over animals and plants
778 represented in his hikuladi, with which he communicates while
125 he is asleep. If he should dream about a dangerous animal, a
[533] jaguar for instance, he makes him sit down in order to begin the song ōkamō against jaguars. This song keeps the jaguar from the rancheria, but, when it is relatively near, the hikuladi of the sablf goes out to kill the jaguar in the forest, where the hunters will find him dead on the following day. But if the men sent by the sablf do not find the body of the jaguar, everybody remains in the rancheria on the following day, for they fear that the Great Jaguar may be in the forest and will kill anybody found in his way.

756 The sablfes sing almost every night, and the bigger the
533 animal who appears to them in their dreams, the more intense
754 is the song. In his songs, the sablf can send any hfkula from
[125] his chest to go and kill a man in a foreign rancheria, however
[774] far it is. Usually he does this at night, and on the following day the victim's companions find him dead in his hammock.

774 I have the impression that the hfkulas belonging to the
756 various species are, of themselves, absolutely passive and that they behave in an active way only at the command and wish
[754] of the sablf. Most sicknesses, including death, are caused by a
● [753] hfkula introduced into the body of the man by the intervention
[761] of the sablf and by his magical power.

The priest sablf, influenced by the effects of yopo, shouts,
756 sings, and dances around the patient. With this he attempts to scare
755 off the harmful hfkula which is striving to enter the body of the
774 man. It is very often personified by a man who is symbolically fought by the hfkula of the sablf and others chosen from his "pueblo of hfkula" in his chest. The curative art of the sablf depends to a great degree on his diagnosis, according to which he chooses from his great hfkula in his chest those which, by their skill, can combat the hfkula or hfkulas causing the sickness. It goes without saying that a young and inexperienced sablf makes mistakes in his diagnosis of identifying, from among all the possible thousands, the hfkula which is causing the sickness sent by an enemy. It

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

the poison has time to spread and enter the bloodstream. The Samatari go off to war with masses of these poisoned arrows and a cane quiver slung across their shoulders. This contains spare arrow-heads which can be quickly attached to the arrows arriving in a stream from the enemy. Every fighter carries his own ammunition, but the weapons are really the common property of friend and foe alike.

There is one other widely used weapon, and a deadly one it is—a heavy wooden club for use on the cranium in close-combat conditions, such as usually arise at the end of the battle when the ammunition is exhausted and the antagonists have worked themselves up into a fine frenzy. Then the hand-to-hand fighting excels in ferocity, but the blood scattered on the ground is misleading—the actual mortality rate is very low. Tremendous whacks on the head are exchanged, that lay the scalp open right down to the bone. But cracking the cranium itself is not so easy: Samatari heads are harder than Corono palm.

One may well ask why the Indians are forever fighting these wars, but this is to put the question a little too ingenuously. The answer can only be that it is their mode of life—just as it is other people's mode of life not to keep on fighting. There are vendettas as old as their race itself, fanned by their belief in the evil eye of the witch doctors who can cause the death of children and spread sickness through the tribe. Fear is the underlying cause, at the origin of these vendettas and at the origin of all origins; fear that is the very condition, the very breath of existence for primitive man in the inhuman, unhuman forest regions that set their stamp on all who live in them. Fear gives birth to these bloody encounters, which a little cool-headedness could transform into the meeting of friends. We ourselves owed our salvation to the fact that we hadn't fought back. We had a certain confidence too, over and above the passing moment of fear, a certain faith in the essential goodness of man.

But apart from fear and the vendettas which grow out of it, there is one native activity which just as easily leads to war: theft. Theft is the activity in which the Shirians excel, their way of living. Everything that can further their nomadic existence is torn out of the earth, the trees and the animals. The process means effort and struggle, always more or less exhausting and unsafe. It follows logically that if anything they basically need belongs to other men, they will take it from them, too. The tribe on the river so-and-so possesses a machete, or a knife—perhaps the result of long bargaining with their neighbours, or, more often, of a highly successful bit of burglary and some

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

with disinfectant, and from that time on examined their bodies carefully for the slightest little scratch. I daubed on a little red methylate, which thrilled them, as anything red does, and when I threw away the piece of cottonwool I had been using there was a regular fight for it, the winner using it to paint himself as he fancied.

But once I had started using the terramycin for the old man's benefit, an unforeseen problem arose. When I displayed the tablet, this panacea for all ills, the patient (backed by all the crowd of onlookers) would make me a sign to swallow it myself, and then give another to him. In the beginning I thought that this indicated a lack of faith in the benign effect of the medicine, and some fear of poison. But I afterwards learned that it was something quite different, arising out of their peculiar conception of illness, which to them was virtually magic. Sickness was an evil something which got into a man's body and then did all its bad things. So it had to be chased out, by fair means or foul. You could frighten it away, as the magic-men did with their nocturnal exorcisms; or, by putting some substance in the body which irked it, you could make it take itself off. This was what the men-that-wear-clothes did. Either way set the sufferer free from the evil thing.

But if you chase a mouse from under one piece of furniture, it will run under another. In the same way, this evil thing, chased out of the sufferer's body, will straightway take refuge in the body of the man effecting the cure! Therefore the medicament must be ready in two equal doses, to protect both doctor and patient. I must have had to swallow untold numbers of tablets of that nauseating terramycin when treating the Samarati! Fortunately, I could always go a little way off on my own, with a call of nature as an excuse, and insert a finger in my throat to make myself vomit.

Indians as a rule present few cases of sickness: the process of natural selection has been at work among them from their infancy, destroying the weak and the handicapped and leaving the better endowed to survive. They do, however, suffer a good deal from intestinal infections; stomach parasites are present owing to the eating of rotten or windfall fruit; and there are various skin diseases due to a fungus growth of the type the Brazilians call 'bicho geographico' because of the resemblance of the infected part to a map. Mange, and sores of various kinds, complete the range of skin troubles.

But there remains that queen of epidemics, which I have not mentioned till now—tuberculosis. Its victims are of all ages. Living naked, night and day, with

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736 Orphans in general are cared for by relatives, but when they do not have any, they are normally adopted. I have never known of any who was left in helplessness.

The Community

621 [162] The population of a seat or settlement varies between 60 and perhaps 120, but most of the settlements have around 100 inhabitants. Smaller groups are afraid to live apart, and therefore they join together to protect themselves. Larger groups [578] soon split up, owing to internal frictions.

[622] Within the settlement there is generally one or two more influential individuals, who not only direct their own families, but several others. When these groups grow sufficiently, they split up and form their own settlements. These groups are found united in a single settlement out of fear.

621 622 578 The largest and most influential group gives orders in the settlement. The result of this is that any struggle for command will not necessarily be a test of strength between two men, but may easily turn into a struggle between the partisans of each of them. The maximum gravity reached by these contests is generally the "macana fight."

626 Public opinion is a powerful force, and even the men of greater influence have to yield on many occasions to the will of the public.

103 Each settlement usually has two names, the one of the present locality and the name of one of the localities previously occupied.

Sickness and Magic

752 753 Some accidents are attributed to carelessness, but many accidents and all sicknesses are attributed to supernatural causes or spirits.

/479 cont./

75 774 If a child is frightened, the mother or guardian quickly takes a handful of leaves and sweeps the place where the little creature was frightened. They do this so that the child's soul will not run off in fear and the child become sick.

/480/ Sometimes when a child is sick, they believe that the soul of the little creature has abandoned its body. Then they dispatch commissions in pursuit of it, which pass through the sites where they suspect that the child has been, and they come back sweeping the path with some branches and calling aloud for the little creature. If the child improves, it is because its soul was found; otherwise they must have missed the site where it was.

755 [753] [776] They believe that some sicknesses are due to the spirit or spirits which have got into the body of the sick person. In order for the sick person to recover his health, the harmful spirit must be cast out of his body. The one who tries to remove this spirit from the body of a sick person first takes a little "yopo" by way of the nasal passage. He then intones a crooning song, while he marches to and fro in front of the patient. Then, from time to time he approaches the latter and rubs the affected part, which he pinches and hits, pulling on it, threatening the spirit and asking it to go away, making all sorts of noises in order to frighten the spirit (or spirits) so that they will go away. After being with his patient for a few minutes, he resumes the crooning. This practice is repeated many times, and if the desired outcome is not obtained, other men will test their forces, trying to cast out from there the harmful spirit.

[776] They might then come to the conclusion that this is not a matter of a sickness caused by a spirit hidden in the body of the sick person, but rather by one which has hidden in some part of the settlement. Thus a group of men organizes a "hunt for the spirit." Each of them takes a little "yopo" by way of the nasal passage, and, after crooning for a short time in front of the sick person, they begin to make an inspection throughout the settlement, house by house, inspecting every basket and corner, swinging machetes and axes, pointing with the arrows, blowing through the "yopo" tubes as if they were blowguns, continuing the whole

/481 cont./

832 They believe that another substance is effective against women, especially if it is thrown at them. They use it to frighten them, and it also forms a part of the ceremony in which a man shows his preference for a woman whom he wishes to make his wife.

784 There is a taboo with respect to the burning of cloth or paper.
753 The burning of cloth or paper, according to what they believe, causes sickness and /482/ perhaps death. The Guaika do not dare to do it "against an enemy," since they are afraid that they might die also.

753 Men cannot see a "bole" -- the spirit or soul of a dead per-
795 son which has returned -- but women can see them on occasion, and, when they do, it is almost certain that the "bole" will make them sick. The "bole" has two eyes like embers, a cold skin, and in general has human forms. It customarily passes by way of the paths, especially at night, and frequently returns to abandoned settlements. They can talk and shout like a man; and many strange noises which are heard in the woods are attributed to the nearness of a "bole." The fall of a tree by itself is also attributed to a "bole."

[781] Once a woman told us about her encounter with a "bole." She had been awakened by something which touched her and hit her in the ribs. When she woke up, a voice said to her: "There are enemies outside." She became very frightened and did not go back to sleep for the rest of the night.

The mere presence of a "bole" is considered sufficient to cause an acute pain in some part of the body.

Frequently we were asked by the Indians if there were "boles" the night before in the surroundings.

It is believed that the "boles" travel alone in open country. Thus, they assume that a few palm leaves obstructing the entrance to the path are usually sufficient to block their way. It is also believed that fire is an effective weapon against the "boles," whereas an arrow would be useless.

751 There is a belief that a certain seed is efficacious for keeping danger away from the children. They string these seeds as if they were beads and hang them around the child's neck.

/482 cont./

753 Any strange or rare object can be considered to have given rise to an epidemic. According to their knowledge and understanding, it might be some kind of foreign sorcery.

755 The Guaika appreciate our medicine for the treatment of
177 sores and sicknesses, but for them this medicine is simply another enchanted or magical substance.

752 /483/ The treatment which they use for a bee sting is to tie the member thus hurt with a piece of vine or string above the sting. They also suck the poison out of the wound.

The treatment for the bite of a spider or snake is similar, tying and sucking. Later, the croonings are considered appropriate for driving away evil forces.

If a man is wounded by a poisoned dart, the wound is sucked and he will live. If he is wounded where the poison cannot be sucked out, he will quickly die. When an animal or a man is mortally wounded by a poisoned arrow, he falls, loses control of his muscles, and then dies, shuddering, perhaps when the poison reaches the heart or lungs.

751 One who has killed an enemy on a raid must sit down on
727 the ground and, taking a little piece of vine (perhaps some two centimeters in length), has to scrape one side of his own head in different places. If he fails to do this, some evil may overtake him.

755 Sick persons receive all possible care, in addition to all the
758 incantations and exorcisms which are cast against the opposing forces of the spirits.

758 A sick person is well fed. If it is not possible for him to take certain foods, the Guaika will make every possible effort to get for him what he can eat.

An old woman who had an infection in her mouth and a throat so large that it was almost impossible for her to swallow anything was given honey as food. They tipped her head back and poured the honey into her mouth. They had a fire lighted for her all the time, and someone was with her constantly. When the settlement moved, she was carried on a man's back by means of a strap or cord such as is customarily used for loads or small children.

/485/ m./

765 This funerary gourd which contains the remains is kept with the other objects that belong to the family. Then, one [766] fine day, they prepare a soup of platanos in which they mix the powdered bone. The near relatives drink this soup. All weep at this moment, as at the first funeral.

775 The Guaika believe that the correct observance of these practices has much to do with the life of the person after his death. If they do not manage to recover the body of a man killed in war and cremate it, his death is considered a doubly great calamity. A statement such as that of "We shall not cremate you when you die" consequently means a powerful threat.

Religion

[772] The Guaika /Waica/ have an idea that one ascends into heaven when one dies. This heaven is a good place, but less desirable than the present life. They also have an idea of hell, a place even less desirable to go to when one dies.

774 A person is for them body, soul, and spirit. The word to
775 designate soul also means "shadow" or "reflection." And the
828 word to designate spirit also means "cloud." Thus, the soul retains the form of the body, but the spirit can be formless.

The soul can abandon the body and return later. A seriously sick person in general loses consciousness while his soul is
● [753] absent. This is why they frequently go looking for the soul of a sick child, to return it to his body. The soul of an adult, on the other hand, should know how to find its way back.

The spirit abandons the body only with death.

775 A formal cremation and the rites which follow cremation help to ensure that the deceased, upon dying, will go to the most desirable place of the other life.

The Guaika believe that the spirits in heaven eat certain wild fruits. They are afraid that an enemy might /486/ return after death and cause sicknesses and other calamities to the people still corporeal. Many of these incorporeal spirits wander about the paths, especially at night. As we have said before, they are called "boles."

/486 cont./

825 821 [774] Animals do not have spirits. The thunder is the voice of certain creatures who dwell in the clouds. Frequently I have heard the Guaika say: "Listen to how many there are!"

Lightning is a creature similar to a flame /llama, "flame," "llama"/, which during storms leaps to earth in order to eat trees.

"Ekoa" and "Koje" are rivers in the sky. "Omoa" is the one 776 who pours the water from these rivers over the land. The "amajini" are like human beings, but smaller, who live under the surface of the earth.

• [753] "Sulilíwa" can hide himself in the settlements and cause sicknesses. "Wakaliwa" can get into the human body and cause sickness.

821 The wind is regarded as a very terrible enemy, and they believe that it is sent by an enemy. When a storm approaches, the men go out and try to turn it toward an enemy settlement, or at least they hope to be able to turn it away from their own settlement.

789 754 [756] Sorcery and magic are practiced by most of the men. They believe that by taking a little "yopo" through the nasal passage they may have a greater influence on the spirits. There are religious advisers who apparently know the spirits and recommend the measures which must be taken against them.

Numbers and Measures

802 The Guaika /Waica/ have words to designate "one" and "two." Above these quantities it is necessary to say "few," "several," "many," "a great many," "all," etc. They can say two and one, or two and two, but they generally do not do this. They show exact numbers higher than two by raising their fingers. I have seen them cross the dwelling to see if a person is holding up three or four fingers in the semidarkness. /487/ I have asked for as many as 12 objects and received the exact quantity by showing them four fingers of my hand three consecutive times. They understand this, but to express the idea of 11 is quite difficult for them to understand.

Table 2: Causes of death of 240 (adult) ancestors of the Namowei-tedi.

Stated Cause of Death[1]	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
Malaria & Epidemics	58	72	130	54.2
Dysentery, Diarrhea	16	5	21	8.8
Warfare	31	6	37	15.4
Clubfights	2	0	2	0.8
Snakebite	2	3	5	2.1
Sorcery (2)	15	10	25	10.4
Tigers	1	0	1	0.4
Chest infections	3	1	4	1.7
Hayaheri[3]	1	2	3	1.2
"Old age"	4	0	4	1.7
Pains in groin	3	0	3	1.2
Childbirth	0	3	3	1.2
Other	2	0	2	0.8
Totals:	138	102	240	99.9

1. These diagnoses were made by the Yanomamö. Some of the biological implications of these statistics have been brought to my attention by Dr. James V. Neel; I intend to discuss them in a later publication.

2. These deaths were probably due to such pathological causes as malaria. When malaria first reached epidemic proportions in some of the Yanomamö villages in the middle 1950's most of the deaths were attributed to the practice of harmful magic on the part of enemies.

3. This is a peculiar sickness associated with intense pains in the upper abdominal region; the pains may last several days. In most cases the Indians recover from this illness.

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648 the Yąnomamö. This process is still going on.

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152 Ferocity and violence is further reflected in Yąnomamö cosmology. In their conception, the human soul has three
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761 parts. One of these parts, the nąreshi, is capable of leaving the body; when it does so, the person becomes ill and dies unless it (the nąreshi) returns. The nąreshi are inherited patrilineally for males and matrilineally for females.
825 Each human nąreshi has an animal or bird counterpart whose life is coextensive and coterminous with that of the human to which it corresponds. Many of the nąreshi are types of animals commonly taken by hunters. Thus, when the Yąnomamö kill game animals, they believe they also kill the human being to whom that nąreshi corresponds.[1] Hence, hunting in the eyes of the Yąnomamö is behaving fiercely, for every nąreshi animal killed also results in the death of some human, usually an enemy.

754 Shamanism also deals in ferocity, for the Yąnomamö
756 shamans all claim to take mysterious trips to the villages of their enemies and eat the nąreshi of the enemy's children.

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152 The complex of ferocity has an important consequence in Yąnomamö social organization, as aggressive behavior detracts from the solidarity of alliances between villages and creates tension within villages. Men are constrained to act ferociously and seize on every opportunity to coerce others in order to display aggressiveness. Most of the displays of

[1] They are not concerned about killing their own nąreshi, for humans and their nąreshi animals live in complementary distribution.

11: Chagnon E-5 • (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

there, so they copulated with her. After they quenched their desire for sex, Omauwä caused the girls vagina to be changed into a mouth with teeth.[10] Howashiriwä, another of the first beings, was sitting on the trail at this time, very hungry for sex. When Rahararioma's daughter walked by, he seduced her, but in so doing, lost his penis: her vagina bit it off. It was when this happened that Omauwä's son became very thirsty. Both Omauwä and Yoawä began digging a hole to find water to quench the boy's thirst. They dug the hole so deep that when water did gush forth, it caused a large lake to form and covered he jungle. Then some of the first beings cut down trees, and floated on them to escape the flood. Because this was such a strange thing to do, they changed into foreigners and floated away. Their language also changed into the tongue of foreigners, and gradually became unintelligible to the Yąnomamö. This is why foreigners have canoes and cannot be understood.

Many of the first beings were drowned in this flood. Those who managed to escape and remain Yąnomamö did so by climbing mountains. They climbed Maiyo, Howashiwä, and Homahewä mountains to escape the flood, Maiyo being a peak near the area where Kąobawä's village had its origin. Then Rahararioma, the mother of the girl whose vagina was changed into a mouth,[11] took a piece of red pigment and painted dots all over her own body. After she was completely covered with red dots, she plunged into the lake and caused it to recede. Omauwä then caused her to be changed into a *rahara*, a snake-like monster that lives in large rivers. After that, she caused Yąnomamö to drown when they tried to cross large rivers, either by eating them or by splashing large waves on them. Omauwä then went downstream and became an enemy to the Yąnomamö. Today he sends hiccups, sickness, and epidemics to the Yąnomamö.

It is because the foreigners refused to climb the mountains to escape the flood that they became enemies to the Yąnomamö. The foreigners tried to make friends with the Yąnomamö after the flood, but because their language was so different, the Yąnomamö refused to be friends. Today, however, the Yąnomamö are becoming friends with foreigners.

After the flood, there were very few original beings left. Periboriwä (Spirit of the Moon) was one of the few who remained. He had a habit of coming down to earth to eat the soul parts of children. On his first descent, he ate one child, placing his soul between two pieces of cassava bread and eating it. He returned a second time to eat another child, also with cassava bread. Finally, on his third trip, Uhudima and Suhirina, two brothers, became angry and decided to shoot him. Uhudima, the poorer shot of the two, began letting h.· arrows fly. He shot at Periboriwä many times as he ascended to *hadu*, but missed. People say he was a very poor shot. Then Suhirina took one bamboo-tipped arrow (*rahaka*) and shot at Periboriwä when he was directly overhead, hitting him in the abdomen. The tip of the arrow barely penetrated Periboriwä's flesh, but the wound bled profusely. Blood spilled to earth in the vicinity of a village called Höö-teri, near the mountain called Maiyo. The blood changed into men as it hit the earth, causing a large population to be born. All of them were males; the blood of Periboriwä did not change into females. Most of the Yąnomamö who are alive today are descended from the

[10] In some variants of this myth she put *piranha* fish in her vagina. These fish bit off Howashiriwä's penis.

[11] There are many linguistic parallels between eating and copulating in the Yąnomamö language. The verb "to eat" also means "to copulate", the verb "to eat like a pig" also means "to copulate excessively", the adjective meaning "satiated, full" also means "to be pregnant." The context of the statement decides the meaning.

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The noreshi animals are inherited patrilineally for men and matrilineally for women.[12] Kaobawä, for example, inherited his *noreshi* animal, the black monkey, from his father and transmitted it to his son. All his male kinsmen have the black monkey as their *noreshi*. Bahimi, Kaobawä's wife, has the dog for her *noreshi* animal, as does her mother and her daughter by Kaobawä. The *noreshi* animal of a woman always travels on the ground below the animal of the husband.

Noreshi animals duplicate the behavior of the person to whom they correspond. When Kaobawä goes hunting, so does his *noreshi* animal. When he is sick, so is his *noreshi* animal. If he takes a journey of two days, the animal likewise travels an equal distance, and so forth.

The *noreshi* animal and the person to whom it corresponds are always in complementary distribution. That is, they never come close to each other, for if they should see each other, they would both die. Their mutual existences are coextensive and coterminous: One lives only as long as the other, and both die at precisely the same instant. If a hunter should shoot Kaobawä's *noreshi* animal and kill it, Kaobawä would also be shot and would die. Similarly, if Kaobawä is shot by raiders and killed, his *noreshi* animal would suffer the same fate.

The soul aspect of the *noreshi*, however, can leave the human body at will and wander. Sickness results when the *noreshi* has left the body; unless it is brought back soon, the person will die. The *noreshi* is the vulnerable portion of the complete being, the part that is the target of witchcraft and harmful magic. The shamans (*shabori*) wage constant war against the evil demons (*bekura*) of enemy groups who have been sent to capture the *noreshi* parts of children. They, in turn, send their own *bekura* to capture the *noreshi* of enemy children; the wars that take place between men who raid to kill are likewise carried over into the domain of the supernatural.

When sickness is deemed to be the result of soul loss, the people who are closely related to the sick person hunt for his *noreshi*. I participated in one of these soul hunts. Kaobawä's group had set up a temporary camp across the river from its main village site, as they suspected raiders would attack them. While they were camped in their temporary village, one of the children became ill, and her malady was thought to be caused by soul loss. When the threat of raiders passed, the temporary camp was abandoned and the group moved back into the main village.

The child's condition worsened, so a group of women and children returned to the temporary camp, suspecting that the *noreshi* had remained there. I went along and, with the others, cut a branch from a shrub and began sweeping the site and calling for the *noreshi* to return. We swept the entire area and converged at one point. Everybody was convinced that the *noreshi* had been herded into this central point. We then lured the *noreshi* back across the river and into the body of the sick child.

The vulnerability of the *noreshi* to magical spells is best examplified by the fact that the shamans of every village spend most of their time chanting to the *bekura* (demons) with the intention of persuading them either to attack the *noreshi* of other (enemy) children or to drive off the *bekura* sent by enemy shamans. Again, the Yanomamö used two of their concepts of the soul to describe photographs and tape recordings. They were very hostile to me when I attempted to take photographs, especially of children, because

[12]The inheritance of these "alter-ego" animals has nothing to do with marriage rules and patrilineage exogamy.

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I, in effect, was capturing the *noreshi* of the child: A photograph was called *noreshi*.[13] Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no ubudibö*, the part of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *noreshi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yanomamö fear the smoke that is produced when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter. For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment. The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of ceremonies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

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[13]Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

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When Kąobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobömaw*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*roo*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kąobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kąobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekura*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The

most common way for a child's soul to escape is to leave by way of the mouth when the child cries. Thus, mothers are quick to hush a bawling baby in order to prevent its soul from escaping. The child's soul can be recovered by sweeping the ground in the vicinity where it most probably escaped, calling for it while sweeping the area with a particular kind of branch. I once helped gather up the soul of a sick child in this fashion, luring it back into the sick baby. One of the contributions I made, in addition to helping with the calling and sweeping, was a dose of medicine for the child's diarrhea. A consequence of this set of attitudes about the vulnerability of children is that much of the village's activity with respect to shamanism and curing is directed toward the children.

RELATIVES BY BLOOD AND BY MARRIAGE Many forms of interpersonal behavior stem largely from the social roles implied in the kinship system. To be sure, some kinship behavior reflects the two distinctions of age and sex discussed above, for the terminology of kinship itself employs discriminations of this kind. For example, there are terms to distinguish older siblings from younger siblings and terms used by members of one sex only in reference to those of the opposite sex.

The relationship between kinship terms and biological parentage is not the same in the Yąnomamö language as it is in our own. As was shown in the first section of this chapter, people may stand in a child relationship to a number of individuals; that is, it is possible to have multiple "mothers" and "fathers" in Yąnomamö society. The term for mother and father conveys as much of a social as a biological relationship between individuals, and in the daily activities of the Yąnomamö it is the social implications of kinship roles that are most important.

What is implied in the kinship roles can best be seen in the way the kinship terms themselves are formed. All primary kinship terms take the ending *"-mou"* when used to describe the relationship between individuals. Thus, *osbeya* means "my younger sibling," but *osbemou* means that individual X *behaves* toward individual Y *as a younger sibling*. This ending, *-mou*, also occurs in nonkinship usage to express "a way of behaving," "to execute a particular activity in a specified manner," or "to perform the activity that is implied by the word to which *-mou* is affixed." For example, *oko* means fresh-water crab and *okomou* means "to go hunting for crabs"; *bowaishi* means "a mischievous white monkey" and *bowashimou* means "to act mischievously, to monkey around"; *nowa naba* means "enemy," and *nowa nabamou* means "to become an enemy by behaving objectionably"; *waiteri* means "fierce" and *waiterimou* means "to behave ferociously."

Whenever I would ask the Yąnomamö a question such as, "What do you call Kąobawä?" the answers would always be in the form of a kinship term to which *"-mou"* was affixed, but rarely in the form "I say such-and-such to him." Calling an individual by a specific term is, however, implied in the "way of behaving" toward that individual. But despite the fact that the Yąnomamö can say, literally, "I call him father" (*kama [illegible]ba, baya ya kuu*), they invariably say *"ya bąömou"*—"I behave toward him as a child."[20] Thus, they express their relationships to others in terms of *ways of behavior*. Each kinship category implies a set of these behavioral norms, and one's social life in the community is established with respect to all other individuals by the kinship terminology employed in each particular case.

[20] Although the word *bąö* translates literally as "father," the expression *ya bąömou* can best be understood with the translation given above.